

SPECIAL ANGSTER 77 ISSUE

MILITIA OF ONE OF THE GOVERNMENT GARRISONS
AT THEIR MEAL BESIDE THEIR MACHINE-GUN.

ANARCHY

A LEWIS GUN AND CREW

20p or 50c

A MACHINE-GUNNER WITH ANOTHER TYPE OF WEAPON AND
SCREENED BY BOOKS AND A MATTRESS.

MILITAMEN BILLETED IN A SCIENCE LABORATORY.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN FIRST.
Some Great British Traditions.

The British army likes taking on a couple of kids, three foot tall. In general all arms of the state-police, army, social security, tax inspector will take on and persecute those they consider weak rather than those they think might have some power or influence.

Even when they attack the smallest of us they sometimes find that too much for them.



They are not afraid of attacking full grown people when the circumstances are right - i.e. when the people are unarmed, and the troops have automatic weapons; when the attack is made by surprise and there are armoured vehicles to retreat into.

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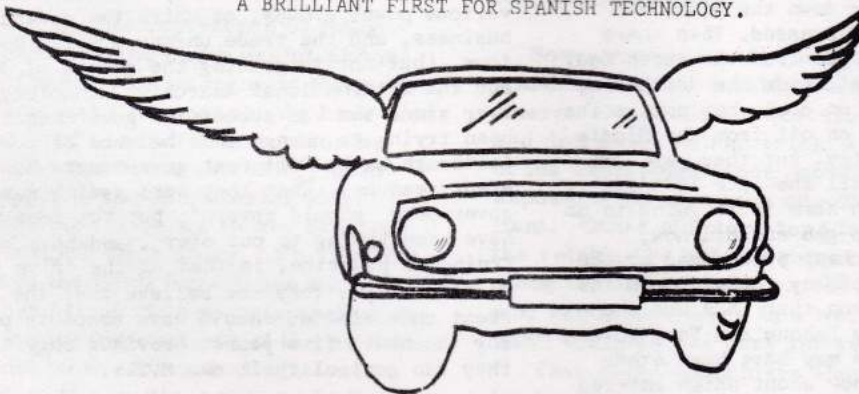
ANARCHY

Nº 12

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A BRILLIANT FIRST FOR SPANISH TECHNOLOGY.



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POWER

Some weeks ago I couldn't help getting the idea that over the last twenty years all our governments have been fostering a shift in industry to use oil rather than coal. This would lead to the conclusion that the English ruling class prefer to be dependent on oil owning sheiks, and the big international oil companies, both class allies, rather than be dependent on English working class miners.

However nicely that may fit in with my prejudices, I don't think it's the whole story. Note: In what follows I'm guessing and sticking my neck out, for there is not the evidence to support all this, but -

The miners are one of the strongest and best organised unions in Europe. They have the numbers, the traditions, they're more of an industrial union, rather than a trades union. They pose a threat to both the owners and the rulers, the bourgeoisie and the government.

Initially there was a movement towards using oil instead of coal based on two things; oil was cheap, and by running down the pits, the power of the miners was decreased. Then there came the hope of oil and gas from the North Sea. A prayer answered? With oil from the North Sea, we need no longer depend on coal, but not at the price of being dependent on oil from the Middle East - or any other country. But they were not going to get much oil until the late 1970's, what until then? How much harm is it going to do to start changing over to gas and oil now, taking advantage of its cheap price, and at the same time breaking free of any threats from the miners? I seriously reckon that this was the basic thinking behind the Labour and Tory governments in the '60s. There may have been other factors which I do not know about which entered into their thinking, who knows? Who cares?

So the basic picture comes down to a running down of coal mining, and an increasing dependence on oil. The oil was cheap, much cheaper than coal, and although imported at that moment, this was only a temporary situation while the North Sea was developed, and by 1980 they were possibly expecting all their problems solved.



The major conflict taking place at the moment is between the miners and the government. The miners have taken the same shit from the government that the rest of us have had, add to which, ever since the war they have had promises promises, which they are getting again today - accept what's offered now, and we will look at the situation so that at some time in the distant future you will get decent pay and as good working conditions as possible (or at least better than now). Not being a miner I don't want to argue their case when you should have heard it from them, so I won't.

I want to point out certain tendencies of our beloved government instead. This country has in the past been 'ruled' by a balance between various power groups, of which the government, business, and the trade unions are the most obvious, (but not forgetting the gnomes of Zurich and the International Anarchist Conspiracy). Ever since the war successive governments have been trying to change this balance of power (although maybe different governments had different reasons). What they were saying was, 'the government should govern', but the idea they have been trying to put over, and have been trying to practice, is that of the 'five year dictatorship'. They now believe that the government once elected should have absolute power for the next five years, provided only that they can control their own M.P.s.

The idea of any sort of limit upon government power, and on any sort of balance of forces, is gone. Clearly the Industrial Relations Act, the repeated States of Emergency are examples of this, but the clearest example is surely the Northern Ireland Act 1972, which became law on February 24th, having been introduced on the 23rd. This act was introduced at such short notice because it became clear that

morning that a lot of the army's activities in Northern Ireland were illegal, particularly their right to stop and search people and vehicles. This bill not only declared their actions in the future legal, but also declared their past illegal actions legal, and opposition to their illegal, now legal, actions, illegal. This is the rewriting of history, as per 1984.

Retroactive legislation like this is a clear statement that the government sees itself completely above the law. Should they have any difficulty with the law they change it, should they act illegally today they make an order tomorrow declaring the previous day's crime to be 'preservation of law and order'.

This changing attitude of government has led to conflict with certain unions, but it has also led to conflict with business - nay, it puts the government in conflict with the whole of society, in one way or another. It further widens the division within the 'ruling class', the owners and managers of industry and robbery - sorry no, I mean 'commerce' and the rulers, government. People have seen and recognised this tendency within the labour party. The labour party in power does not see its interests as being those of the labour movement, it sees its interests as being those of the party and the government. Similarly, the Tories in power do not see themselves there to serve the owners, they see themselves there to govern, to serve their own interests. Of course there are still M.P.s who are members of various Trades Unions, others who are still directors of companies. This does not stop these members putting their interests as members of the government before their other interests. When not in power, these other interests tend to become dominant, to balance them there is no longer government power, only the hope of government power.

It's only a five year dictatorship and the party in power knows it needs another vote to keep it in power, this might lead to expecting that the party in power would always act within their supporters interests. However with the governments control on accurate information, their stranglehold on the T.V., and the press, elections are not decided on assessment of accurate information, but on a load of fantasies put out by all the parties. The other major factor is the self deception of the politicians, who often seem to believe that the interests of the government are also the interests of the country, and when the government act in their own egocentric way they seem to think people will admire and support them for it.

The struggles which will be mentioned in the history books, and which are covered by the news are the miners and the railmen against the government. The outcome of the present crisis

depends on everybody, not those groups mentioned in the news. They are not fought out in political arenas removed from our everyday lives, but take place everyday in our own homes, our own streets, schools, workplaces and backyards. It is easier to understand the spectacular struggle when you walk out on strike, it is harder to understand and continue the everyday struggle of your day-to-day life that takes place all the time - home, workshop, school, in the street and pub.

For most of us the struggle is not at the spectacular stage. We are still living our life of boredom. What are we trying to do at the moment? Before people working together ever go out together on strike a lot has to happen. Mainly it is a process of communication and building up of trust. A group of strangers put together will not act together, and the main process is one in which a group of individuals begin to identify with each other, at work this is against the boss. Today many of us get this 'class consciousness' put to us when we are kids. Unfortunately many of us do not recognise this process, and under the influence of that bourgeois intellectual Marx, and his henchmen this process has been mainly applied to straight work situations.



Lets digress. A large section of the left

look at the power of organised workers, and because it is easy to see and understand, they believe that it is the major power that ordinary people have, the power that should be developed, and if you are not part of it, too bad. Thus most women who are not 'straight workers' as the left see it do not have any power, and the major role that they can play is as passive supporters of the workers. This whole idea is in error, and it is also harmful to revolution and worst of all divisive, breaking down solidarity and identification, and setting one person against another.

At the moment struggles at work might appear to be the most important and the most hopeful of producing change, but then for many years this is the area which the left has been concentrating on.

Alongside this concentration upon industry there has been a neglect of the community. Not just a passive neglect, but an ideological assault upon any ideas that the community might be as powerful as, or even more powerful than, industry.

Firstly, look at the signs. Taking an extreme example, that of Ulster, we see that struggles are not defined in terms of industries, but by communities, (with the exception of Harland and Wolfe). Geographical areas, such as Clydeside, Moss side and the East End and South Bank of London, as well as industries, have reputations for militancy. Moreover, if you pick out the most militant workers you often notice that they tend not only to work together but to live in the same community.

All struggles are interrelated and no group of people exists as an island. Thus the income and security of the employed depends on the income and security of the unemployed, and vice versa. The success of a strike depends on, among other things, the availability of people willing to act as blacklegs, support for pickets from the rest of the community, and the readiness of thugs or police to attack the pickets and troops to forcibly destroy the power of the strikers.

One of the results of this pernicious ideology is the lack of community development.

Hence we have allowed the community to be weakened or destroyed. Yet part of the strength of the miners lies in that they live together as well as work together.

Another result and perhaps the most harmful, is the way in which it divides us, and creates a new elite. Especially it divides men and women, but also employed and unemployed, and even workers with strong organisations and those with weaker ones. It divides people who are working in one way from people who are working in another, and makes them enemies instead of comrades.

So, what to do?

The above ridiculous diversion has been followed to try to begin to explain the ideas behind my answer to this, mainly because the answer seems too mundane to be taken seriously without a bit of window dressing and academic shit.

Perhaps the first thing to do is to make friends, and to find out who our friends are. Many comrades will no doubt think first of finding other anarchists to talk to - but talking to the other people in the street and at work is much more important - unless you're a cloak and dagger anarchist, who can't actually tell people what you believe in, in case they disapprove, or the boss finds out.

If we try not to see ourselves as 'special' with 'special' ideas, but as ordinary people with ordinary, but different, ideas, we may find ourselves part of everyday struggles, instead of being external and to many people manipulating. Everyone has different ideas - anarchy's about how people with different ideas can work together.

And what about our own lives?

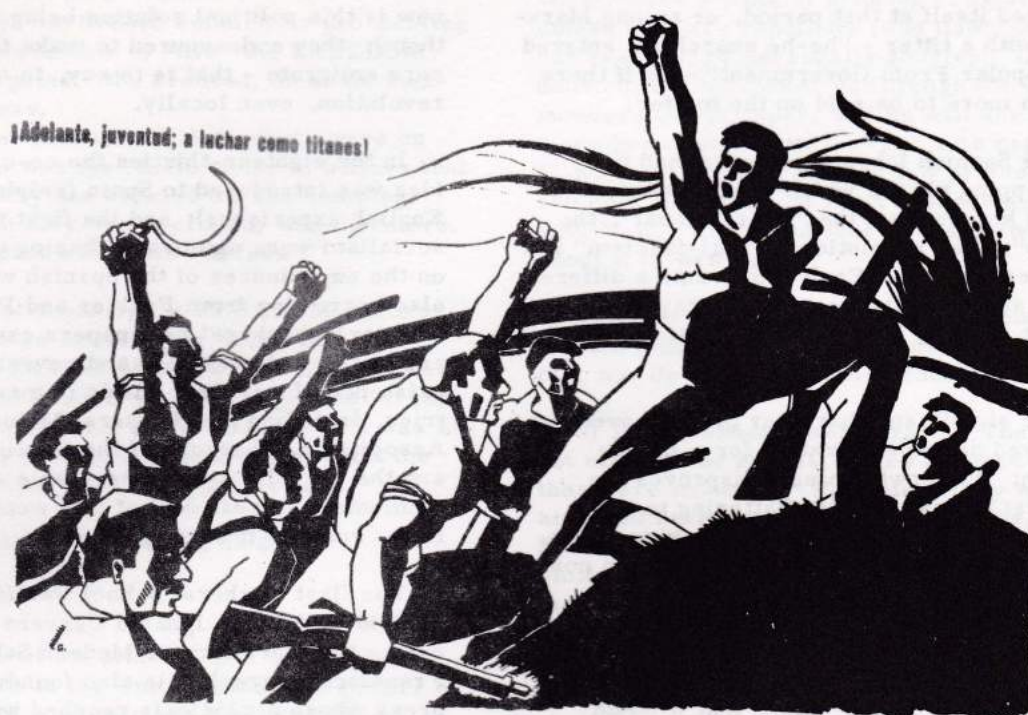
If you're working a 3 day week, what about sharing the other work that goes on all the same - the shopping, washing, cooking and the childcare.

What happens when the crisis is over? Will we all go back to our old relationships; dominating and dominated, passive, alienated and silent. Or having transformed the way we talk to and relate to people, will we refuse to sink back into traditional bourgeois roles and go on to build the revolution in our everyday lives.

C.P.

FIGHT FOUL LIFE IS REAL





Libertarian Youth will continue the struggle for the Workers' Revolution!

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN SPAIN

ON THE WHOLE there has been little or no study of the Spanish labour movement. The success of the insurrection against Tsarism so captivated the imagination of the world that attention, from the point of view of revolutionary socialism, has thereafter been riveted on Russia and what concerns its interests. The State "Socialism" that triumphed in that country is no doubt worth studying, if not experiencing; but from the standpoint of any sincere revolutionary - even one who might not consider himself a libertarian - it is surely more richly rewarding to look at the case of a labour movement that could sustain itself through generations of suppression; that could dis-

pense with a bureaucracy; and that could maintain its character of control by the rank and file.

There are, of course, faults and failures. These may be better understood following a study of the working class movement, and dispensing with the criticism of the anarcho-syndicalist offered by Trotskyist sources which make false comparisons out of context with Russia and deal with a period of only three years out of ninety; as a result of which, even among would-be libertarians, the years of struggle and achievement are dismissed

with a vague reference to "bureaucracy" which asserted itself at that period, or among Marxists, with a titter - "he-he anarchists entered the Popular Front Government" - as if there was no more to be said on the matter.

The Spanish labour movement had five overlapping phases which can be summed up in five key words - the "international"; the "union"; the "revolution"; "anti-fascism" and the "resistance". Each represents a different phase and the mistakes, and betrayals appear almost entirely in the fourth ("anti-fascist") phase.

The significant character of the movement is played down deliberately for a simple reason: it overwhelmingly disproves the Leninist thesis, equally flattering to the bourgeois academic, that the working-class, of itself, can only achieve a trade union consciousness - with the corollary that trade union consciousness must be confined to higher wages and better conditions, and without the guiding hand of the middle-class elitist, would never understand that it could change society.

The "International" Phase

The historians want on the one hand to say that Bakunin was a poseur who boasted of mythical secret societies that did not exist; and on the other hand that he, by sending an emissary (who did not speak Spanish) introduced anarchism into Spain. In fact, ever since the Napoleonic wars - and in some parts of Spain long before - the workers and peasants had been forming themselves into societies, which were secret out of grim necessity.

It is sometimes alleged that "liberal" ideas entered Spain only with the French invasion. What in fact came in - with freemasonry - was the political association of the middle class for liberal ideas (and the advancement of capitalism) against the upper classes, and their endeavour to use the working class in that struggle. But the working class and peasants had a known record of 400 years insurrection against the State. It is their risings and struggles, and the means employed - long before anarchism as such was introduced - that are used by historians as if they were describing Spanish anarchism. In Andalusia in particular the peasants refused to lie down

and starve, or to emigrate en masse (only now is this political solution being forced on them): they endeavoured to make their oppressors emigrate - that is to say, to cause a revolution, even locally.

In the eighteen-thirties the co-operative idea was introduced to Spain (relying on early English experience); and the first ideas of socialism were discussed, basing themselves on the experiences of the Spanish workers and also borrowing from Fourier and Proudhon. The early workers' newspapers came out, especially in the fifties, and revealed the existence of workers' guilds in many industries, including the Workers' Mutual Aid Association. Because of the Carlist wars - and the periodic need to reconcile all "liberal" elements - a great deal of this went on publicly, some of it surreptitiously.

The first workers' school was founded in Madrid by Antonio Ignacio Cervera (fifty years before the more famous Modern School of Francisco Ferrer). He also founded a printing press whose periodicals reached workers all over the country. Cervera was repeatedly persecuted and imprisoned (he died in 1860). It was from the ideas of free association, municipal autonomy, workers' control and peasants' collectives that Francisco Pi y Margall, the philosopher, formulated his federalist ideas. The latter is regarded as "the father of anarchism" in Spain. But he did no more than give expression to ideas current for a long time.

During the period of the general strike in Barcelona (1855) the federations entered into relationship with the International Association of Workers in London (later called "The First International"). It was quickly realised that the ideas of the Spanish section of the International were far more in accord with Bakunin's Alliance than with the Marxists. In 1868 Giuseppe Fanelli was sent by Bakunin to contact the Internationalists in Spain. To his surprise - he barely spoke Spanish and said "I am no orator" - at his first meeting he captured the sympathy of all. Among his first "converts" the majority belonged to the printing trade - typographers like Anselmo Lorenzo, lithographers like Donadeu, engravers like Simancas and Velasco, bookbinders and others. It was they who were in Spain the most active, and the

most literate of workers. They formed the nucleus of the International. (Marx wrote gloomily to Engels: "We shall have to leave Spain to him /Bakunin/ for the time being.") By the time of the Congress in Barcelona in 1870, there were workers' federations throughout the country. The programme on which they stood: for local resistance, for municipal autonomy, for workers' control, for the seizure of the land by the peasants, has not since been bettered. They did not fail because they were wrong; merely because (like the Chartists in England) they were before their time. There was no viable economy to seize. They could do nothing but rise and fight.

The bourgeoisie had totally failed, during their long struggle with reaction, to modernise the country. The Government persistently retained control by the use of the army and of the system of Guardia Civil which it had copied from France.

Workers' Federations

In 1871 workers' federations existed in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Cartagena, Malaga, Cadiz, Libares, Alella, Bilbao, Santander, Igualada, Sevilla, Palma de Mallorca - taking no orders from a central leadership, standing on the basis of the local commune as the united expression of the workers' industrial federations, and in complete hostility to the ruling class. It was essentially a movement of craftsmen - as in England the skilled worker became a Radical, in Spain he became an Internationalist. Pride in craft became synonymous with independence of spirit. Just as in England, where the village blacksmith and shoemaker became the "village radical" who because of his independence from "the gentry" could express his own views, and become a focus for the agricultural workers' struggles - so in Spain he became an Internationalist (a stand which he easily combined with regionalism).

The first specifically anarchist nucleus began in Andalucia in 1869 - due to the work of Fermin Salvochea. It was there, too, that the International became strongest. As the repression grew so the anarchist ideas captured the whole of the working class movement. But the reason was not because Bakunin, Fanelli, Lorenzo or Salvochea had decided to give Spanish federalism a name, or

to label it in a sectarian fashion. It was because the Marxist part of the International was growing away from them. During Marx's struggle with Bakunin he was forced more clearly to state his views in a specifically authoritarian manner. The idea of central State authority was precisely what repelled the Spanish Internationalists. The notion that they required a leadership from the centre was something they had already, in their own organisation, dispelled.

The International reached its peak during 1873/4. Its seizure of Cartagena - the Commune of Cartagena - would take precedence over the Commune of Paris for the "storming of the heavens" if greater attention had been paid to it by historians outside Spain.

The Commune of Paris showed how the State could be instantly dispensed with; but its social programme was that of municipal ownership and it was in this sense that its adherents understood the word "communist". In Cartagena the idea of workers' councils was introduced - it was understood that what concerned the community should be dealt with by a federal union of these councils; but that the places of work should be controlled directly by those who worked in them. This "collectivism" preceded by forty or fifty years the "soviets" of Russia (1905 and 1917) or the movements for workers' councils in Germany (1918) and profoundly affected the whole labour movement, which for the next twenty years was in underground war with the regime: bitterly repressed, and fighting back with guerrilla intensity.

The conceptions which the British shop stewards brought to bear on British industry - of horizontal control - during the First World War, of horizontal control to circumvent the trade union bureaucracy - were inbuilt into the Spanish workers' movement from the beginning. When the workers' federations turned from the idea of spontaneous insurrections to that of a revolutionary labour movement and began to form the trade union movement, it had already accepted the criticisms of bureaucracy which were not even made in other countries until some forty or fifty years of experience was to pass; it saw in a union bureaucracy the germs of a workers' state, which it in no way was prepared to accept. Moreover, the idea of socialist or liberal

direction - urged by the freemasons - was seen quite clearly in its class context. It was this experience brought from the "International" period that made the labour movement the most revolutionary and libertarian that existed.

Regionalism

The essential regionalism of the Internationalist movement was somewhat different from trade unionism as it was understood in England. Instead of a national union of persons in the same craft, the basis of craft unionism, there was a regional federation of all workers. The federation divided into sections according to function. Thus it was possible for even individual craftsmen to be associated with the union movement, which accorded with the hatred most of the workers had for the factory system anyway. It also meant that when anyone was blacklisted for strike activities, he could always be set up on his own. Pride in craft was something ingrained in the internationalists. The most frequent form of sabotage against the employer was the "good work" strike - in which better work than he allows for is put into a job. It was something they employed even when there was no specific dispute (it is the reason why there were fewer State inspections of jobs for safety reasons and why today - the union movement having been smashed - one reads so frequently of dams breaking, hotels falling down or not completed to time, and so on). For this reason people trusted the union label when it was ultimately introduced and - despite the law and his own prejudices - an employer had to go to the revolutionaries to get the good workmen, or let the public know he was employing shoddy labour. "You are the robber, not us," was the statement most often hurled at the employer who wanted honesty checks on his workers.

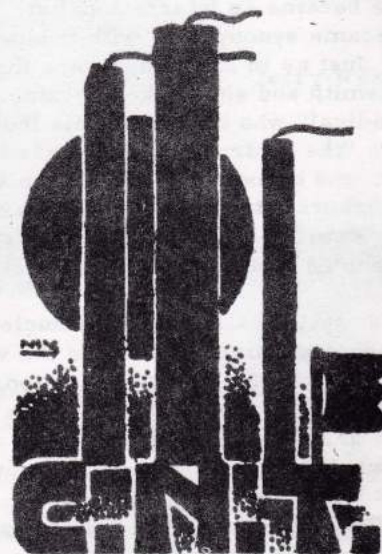
"Regionalism" - the association of workers on the basis of locality first, and then into unions associated with the place of work - was something that concurred fully with the insurrectional character of the movement. Time and again a district rose and proclaimed "libertarian communism" rather than be starved to death or emigrate (the latter solution was, years later, forced on them only by military conquest). It was for this reason that the seemingly pedantic debate began between "collectivism" or "communism" in the anarchist movement - fundamentally a question as to

whether the wage system be retained or not in a free society - since this was indeed an immediate issue in the collectivities and co-operatives established with a frequency as much as in modern Israel - though with the significant difference that it was in a war against the State and not with its tolerant assistance.

Formation of CNT

The workers' organisations persistently refused to enter into political activity of a parliamentary nature. It was the despair of the Republican and Socialist politicians, who were sure they could "direct" the movement into orthodox, legal channels. It was an attempt to divide the movement, not to unite it, that led to the formation of the Union General de Trabajadores (UGT) in 1888. It was a dual union, with only 29 sections and some three thousand members. The congresses of the regional movement - the Internationalist movement which by now was transforming itself into an anarchist one - had seldom less than two or three hundred sections.

In the years of terror and counter-terror that followed, attacks on the workers' movement led to the recurrent individual counter-attacks of the 1900s, resulting in the enormous protests against the Moroccan War that culminated in the "Red Week" of Barcelona. Meantime the socialist movement stood aloof, trying to ingratiate itself with the authorities in the manner of the Labour movement in



England - then still part of the Liberal Party. The demand for national-based craft unions (raised by the UGT) thus became identified with the desire for parliamentary representation in Madrid. (History repeats itself: today, under Franco, the Comisiones Obreras are doing exactly the same thing - to gain Stalinist representation in the Cortes.)

The Spanish movement was entering its "union" phase, influenced strongly by the syndicalism of France. The Solidaridad Obrera movement (Workers' Solidarity) adopted the anti-parliamentarian views of the French CGT whose platform for direct workers' control was far in advance of the epoch, and which was already preparing the way for workers to take over their places of work, even introducing practical courses on workers' control to supplant capitalism.

As the anarcho-syndicalist movement developed in Spain after experience of the way in which the parliamentary socialists had gained creeping control of the syndicalist movement in France and debilitated this movement, it was inbuilt into the formation of the CNT (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo - National Confederation of Labour) that the movement should follow the traditions of federalism and regionalism that prevented the delegation of powers to a leadership. The CNT was created in 1911 (at the famous conference at the salon de Bellas Artes in Barcelona) as the result of a demand to unite the various workers' federations all over the country - following strikes in Madrid, Bilbao, Sevilla, Jerez de la Frontera, Soria, Malaga, Tarrasa, Saragossa. It helped to organise a general strike the same year (as a result of which it became illegal).

It rose to overwhelming strength during the world war - its most famous test being the general strike arising from the strike at "La Canadiense". From then on, for 25 years, it was in constant battle, yet the State was never able to completely suppress it.

25 Years of Unionism

The complete failure of some libertarians to understand even the elementary principles of the CNT throughout those years is staggering. When the structure and rules of the CNT were reprinted in Black Flag* some comments both

privately and publicly left one amazed. One reader thought it was a "democratic centralist" body, when the whole shape and structure of it was obviously regionalist. For years, indeed, a major debate raged as to whether unions should be federated on a national basis at all. Some could not understand it was a union movement, and pointed out the lack of decisiveness in dealing with national (political) problems.

Another saw in the rule that delegates should not be criticised in public "a libertarian version of don't rock the boat, comrades", comparing it with the determination of the TUC not to let its leaders (quite a different matter) be criticised. But the delegates were elected for one year only. They could be recalled at a moment's notice if they were not representing the views of their members. Most of the time, as negotiating body, they were illegal or semi-legal. It was not pleasant for someone who avoided acting as a delegate, and who had the power to recall the delegate if there were sufficient members in agreement, to attack a named delegate in public. That is not the same thing at all as criticising a permanent leader or democratically-elected dictator such as one finds in British trade unionism. Nor is it the same thing as saying one should never criticise anyone at all. (It must, however, be held against the rule that in 1936/9 and after many refrained from criticising self-appointed spokesmen because of this tradition.)

Yet others, bringing a forced criticism of Spanish labour organisation in order to fit preconceived theories, have suggested it was subordinated to a political leadership, the Anarchist Federation playing a "Bolshevik" role (something quite inconceivable) or that of a Labour Party. What such critics cannot understand is that the anarchists relinquished the building of a political party of their own, and that it was only because of this that they had their special relationship with the CNT. Had they endeavoured to give it a political leadership, they would have succeeded in alienating themselves as did the Marxists. (The original Marxist party, the POUM, endeavoured for years to obtain control of the CNT: later, when the Communist Party was introduced into Spain in the 'thirties, the POUM was denounced as "trotskyists" and even "trotsky-fascists" by the Stalinists. The

*Reproduced in this issue.

Trotskyists proper took the line that the very existence of a revolutionary union was an anachronism and they criticised the POUM for trying to infiltrate the CNT rather than to enter, and aspire to lead, the UGT - though the latter was a minority organisation.)

Like many other anarchist groups in other countries, those in Spain were based on affinity, or friendship, groups - which are both the most difficult for the police to penetrate, and the most productive of results - as against which is the positive danger of clique-ism, a problem never quite solved anywhere. The anarchists who became well known to the general public were those associated with exploits which no organisation could ever officially sanction. For instance, Buenaventura Durruti came to fame as the result of his shooting Archbishop Soldevila, in his own cathedral - in response to the murder, by gunmen of Soldevila's "Catholic" company union, of the general secretary of the CNT, the greatly-loved Salvador Seguí. With bank robberies to help strike funds, the names of the inseparable Durruti, Ascaso and Jover became household words to the many workers who faced privation and humiliation in their everyday life, and felt somehow revindicated as well as reinvigorated.

One must bear in mind the capitalist class was at this time engaged in its own struggle against the feudal elements of Spain (which even resisted the introduction of telephones). The economic struggle of capitalism (palely reflected in the political mirror as that of republicanism versus the monarchy) was an extremely difficult one: it made the struggle of the workers to survive that much more difficult. The employers did not have as much to yield as in other countries where industrialisation had progressed; had they in fact been further advanced, the amount so militant an organisation could have obtained from capitalism would have been staggering.

As it was, capitalism fought a constant last-ditch stand against labour. It was a bloody one, too, and it should not be supposed that individual "terror" was on one side. The lawyer for the CNT, a paraplegic, well known for his stand on civil liberties - Francisco Layret who could be compared with Benedict Birnberg here, who has complained he has been put on a police blacklist - was shot down in his wheelchair by employers' pistoleros.

It was against such pistoleros that the FAI hit back. Anarchist assassination is taken out of its class context by Marxist critics. They did not think that individual attacks would "change society", that the capitalist class would be terrorised or the State converted by them. They hit back because those who do not do so, perish.

Unity

While the local federations always opposed any form of common action with the republican or local nationalist parties, and sometimes lumped (correctly) the Socialist Party with the bourgeois parties, nevertheless on the whole they deplored the division in the ranks of the proletariat and as the struggle deepened in the thirties could not see why they should be separated from the UGT, or the Marxist parties - the CP, POUM or some sections of the Socialist Party. "Unity" is always something that sounds attractive. But notwithstanding the adage it does not always mean strength. Those who desire it the most are those who must compromise the most and therefore become weak and vacillating.

The popular mistake, too, is to assume that because these parties were more "moderate" in their policies - that is to say, more favourably inclined to capitalism and less willing to change the economic basis of society - they were somehow more gentle in their approach, or pacific in their intentions. Under the Republic the "moderate" parties (which had collaborated with the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera under the monarchy) created the Assault Guards especially to hit the workers, and the CNT in particular. To imagine an equivalent one must assume that in addition to the police, the Army are also on street patrol - as an equivalent to the Guardia Civil - but the Government brings in a special armed force (like the "B" Specials) to attack the TUC. This was a "moderate" policy as against the "extremism" of the anarchists who wanted to abolish the armed forces (which incidentally were plotting against the Republic). That was an "impractical and utopian" idea, said the Republicans and Socialists, who aimed to democratise the armed forces instead by purging it of older monarchists and bringing in young generals like Francisco Franco (whose brother was a Freemason and Republican, as well as a "national hero"),

whose "loyalty to the republic would be assured".

Problems

The problem that we are familiar with is that of a labour movement hesitant to take its opportunities, while the capitalist class seizes every possibility of advancing its interests. The problem for Spanish labour was entirely different: namely, that while it was determined and even impatient for Revolution, the capitalist class remained (until only a comparatively few years ago) afraid to interfere politically lest it upset the equilibrium by which the military were the last resort of the regime, and unwilling to move too far ahead industrially for fear of the State power dominated by feudal reaction. Only a few foreign capitalists were willing to take the plunge in exploiting the country. Thus strike after strike developed into a general strike, and the confrontation thus achieved became a local insurrection, for the capitalists were asked more than they would or sometimes could grant.

It is the insurrections which have been more often the concern of historians who inevitably talk of "the anarchists" and their conduct in running this or that local conflict: in reality, the anarchists had helped to create an organisation by which the workers and peasants could run such insurrections themselves. It is inevitable that because of this, mistakes of generalship would occur and it would be futile to deny that a highly organised political



party could possibly have marshaled such forces much differently (this was the constant despair of the Marxist parties); but towards what end? The conquest of power by themselves. In rejecting this solution, other problems arose which must be the continued concern of revolutionaries.

What, after all, is the point of accepting a political leadership which might seize power - with no real benefit to the working class, as was the real case in Soviet Russia - by virtue of its brilliant leadership (and its tactical and tacit arrangements with imperialist powers) - or might (as the Communist Party did in Chiang's China or Weimar Germany) lead, with all its trained "cadres", to the same sort of defeat the man on the ground could quite easily manage for himself?

One other point must be taken into consideration, and that was the demoralisation of many militants after years of struggle in which enormous demands were made upon the delegates with absolutely no return whatever outside that received by all. There was no problem of bureaucracy (the general secretary was a paid official; beyond him there were never more than two or three paid officials) but then as a result there was no reward for the delegates, who suffered imprisonment - and the threat of death - and who needed to be of high moral integrity to undertake jobs involving negotiation, and even policy decisions of international consequence, that in other countries would lead to high office but in Spain led merely to a return to the work bench at best, or to jail and the firing squad at worst.

It is not a coincidence, nor the result of conscious "treachery", that many militants who came up through the syndicates* later discovered "reasons" for political collaboration or entry into the political parties, which alone offered rewards, and every one of which hankered after the libertarian union, which alone had a broad base that would mean certain victory for whoever could command it.

*Pestana, for instance, once General Secretary, later hived off to form his own political party (the "Treintistas" - after his "Committee of Thirty").

The student-movement-inspired thesis is wrong: the FAI was not a Bolshevik nor a social-democratic party. If it had been, this problem would not have arisen. The problems of Spanish labour in those years were not problems of political control, nor whether the tactics of this party or that party were right or wrong (that is to think of Spain in terms appropriate to the Stalin-Trotsky quarrel, but the dispute between the rival gangsters of the Kremlin is not necessarily applicable in every country). Basically they were the problems of freedom, and of mass participation in its own destiny. We must not delude ourselves that these do not exist.

With this background of the labour movement it was impossible for the capitalist class to switch it round on the basis of nationalism and harness it behind themselves, as they had done with temporary success in many countries in the First World War, and with some permanent (as it then seemed) success in the Nazi era. The Falange tried to ape the workers' syndicates but nobody was fooled who did not want to be. When the Falange failed in its task, as every attempt of the Spanish bourgeoisie failed - whether liberal, republican or fascist - the Army was brought in, in the classical manner of a ruling class holding power by force.

What took the ruling class by surprise - having seen the way in which the labour movements of the world caved in at the first blast of the trumpet (above all, the fabulous Red Army trained movement of the German workers under Marxist leadership reduced with one blow of the fist to a few, frightened people being beaten up in warehouses) - was the resistance to the nation's own army by the working people. If at that moment the Popular Front (claiming to be against fascism) - realising its fate would be sealed with the victory of the Army - had armed the people, the rising would have been over. The result of their refusing to do so meant that trench warfare could develop, in which (against heavy arms, and later troops and planes, coming in from the fascist countries) the Spaniards could only resist, keep on the defence, and never mount an attack; hence they would be bound to lose in the finish.

One of the most significant trends shown in July 1936 was the seizure of the factories and

the land by the workers. This was an experience in workers' self-management which was not however unique - since the same attempts had been made by many collectives and co-operatives before - but whose scale was staggering - and which represented in itself a defiant gesture of resistance by the workers which the Popular Front Government wished to play down, and eventually suppress.

For this reason the Popular Front has never since ceased, through its supporters at the time, to harp on one theme only: the International Brigade. But this merits a separate article.

It was not merely the disciplinary and murderous drives by the Communist Party that destroyed the collectivisation and self-management. One must add to it the fact that as the civil war proceeded, the workers, were leaving the factories in ever increasing numbers, for the front lines, which became ever more restricted.

Divisions

The fact that the workers had, with practically their bare hands, prevented an immediate military victory and, as it seemed, prevented the rise of world fascism, caused a euphoric condition. The slogan was "United Proletarian Brothers": the flags of the CNT mixed with those of the UGT. The Communists and Socialists were welcomed as fellow-workers, even the Republicans accepted for their sake. Undoubtedly the whole mass of CNT workers - and others - welcomed this end of divisions which seemed pointless as against world fascism. In time of war one looks favourably upon any allies: no leadership could have prevailed against the feeling that there were no more divisions in the workers' ranks. On the contrary, those who now aspired to leadership - since the conditions of war were such that leadership could exist - began to extol the merits of their new-found allies.

Those who refer to the "atrocities" of the early period of the Civil War seldom point to the root cause of many of them: the fact that the Republican authority was now officially on the side of the workers. A simple illustration was told me by Miguel Garcia of how, in the early days in Barcelona the group he was with

seizing arms from the gunsmiths' to fight the army, came in confrontation with a troop of armed Guardia Civil, the hated enemy. The officer in charge signalled them to pass. They did so silently, waiting to dash for it - expecting to be shot in the back in accordance with the ley de fuga. But the officer saluted. The Guardia Civil was loyal to the Government. In many villages the people stormed the police barracks demanding vengeance on the enemy. They were greeted with cries of "Viva la Republica". "We are your allies now. We are the officers of the Popular Front. Ask your allies in the Republican and Socialist parties if it is not so."

Even so, many anarchists never trusted them.

It was the police and Guardia Civil who were the most vicious to the fascists whom they had to detain, to show their enthusiasm for the popular cause. Later, when the tides of war had changed, they had to be even more vicious to the anti-fascists, to show that they had never ceased in allegiance to the properly constituted authority.

The Compromises

It is relevant to this description of the Spanish labour movement to trace the dissolution of the CNT, since with the drift from the factories it ceased to be a union movement and became, in effect, an association of militants.

During the war what was in effect a demoralisation of many militants set in, and a division occurred between "well known names" and those militants who really made up the organised movement (the rank and file militants, militantes de base), since the demand for unity, understandable as it was, led to a collaboration with the republican government under the slogan of "UHP". All those who had for years been denied a recognition of their talents - and craved for it - now had their chance. Majors, generals; in the police and in the direction of government; even in the ministries themselves. Those who so collaborated did not really go as representatives either of the anarchist movement or of the labour organisation although their collaboration was passively accepted by most. They took advantage of the greatest weakness of the traditional anarchist movement, the "person-

ality cult" (as witness Kropotkin, individually supporting World War I, and causing enormous damage to the movement which he in no way represented and from which his "credentials" could not be withdrawn for there were none except moral recognition).

The emergence of an orator like Garcia Oliver, or Federica Montseny, as a Minister purporting to represent the CNT was a symptom of these collaborationist moves. Keeping the matter in proportion their betrayals and compromises were effected by the defeat, and were not its cause.

It was, however, this division that disorientated the organisation in subsequent years.

Following the defeat, the libertarian movement was re-established in a General Council in Paris in February 1939. The existing secretary of the CNT, Mariano Vasquez, was appointed secretary of the Council. But this was in no way a trades union. It was a council of war, intending to maintain contact between the exiles now scattered round the world, and in particular those in France, where the majority were in concentration camps, set up with barbed wire and guarded by Senegalese soldiers, as if they were POWs, but under conditions forbidden by the Geneva Convention.

There were no longer meetings appointing delegates subject to recall, nor any check upon the representatives of the movement. Nobody in any case was interested. The working class of Spain had been decisively smashed. Its organisations were in ruins. Those in exile had to build a new life. Those inside Spain were facing daily denunciations leading to the firing squad and prison. The children of the executed and imprisoned were thrown into the streets. Large numbers of workers were moving to places where they hoped they would avoid notice.

Those publications which appeared spoke only in the vaguest terms about the future. All that mattered was the overthrow of Franco and of Fascism. In the circumstances, a political party - with a policy dictated from the central committee - would have produced a clear line (however vicious this might be, as the Communist Party's line was after the Stalin-Hitler Pact - one typical symptom being Frank Ryan, IRA CP fighter in the Interna-

tional Brigade, who went from Franco's prison to become a Nazi collaborator). The libertarian movement was clear only that it was anti-fascist. And that it would have no further truck with the Communist Party.

This was not an unreasonable line to take in the circumstances, but for a fatal corollary to the anti-fascist commitment, which ultimately paralysed the entire Spanish working-class movement and has kept Franco in power to this day. This was that one must therefore accept anti-fascism at its face value and ascribe anti-fascism to the democratic powers which were also fighting against powers which happened to be fascist.

A moment's reflection will show the falsity of the position. Today China finds herself in conflict with Russia. But she is not only not necessarily anti-Communist (in the Leninist sense), she is not (in that sense) anti-Communist at all. There is no reason to suppose that if China defeated Russia she would end state dictatorship and concentration camps; to ascribe such motives to China is to deceive oneself deliberately. Neither did it follow in 1939 that anybody who happened to be fighting the Fascist Powers were therefore anti-fascist in the same sense that the libertarians were.

Nor had ideology anything to do with it. America, while retaining democracy at home, is perfectly able to support dictatorship abroad. Yet in 1939 it was seriously supposed even by the best of the Spanish militants that Britain and France must "logically" oppose fascism, as if nations went to war merely to impose their ideology. It was more difficult to support their jailer France, but after France fell, Britain seemed to be sympathetic. The British Secret Service enlisted the aid of the Spanish Resistance groups, which sprang up immediately after the disaster of 1940. They sought aid to bring soldiers out of France over the border; they enlisted the support of the "gangs" inside Spain to raid foreign Embassies and sabotage Nazi plans; they sought to co-operate (though it never came to dominating) the Spanish resistance in France. Because Franco's men were at the time so violently anti-British, it was supposed Britain must "logically" want to overthrow Franco. And it was more "reasonable" to believe in a British victory - a practical proposition - than in Revolution!

Even those in the Resistance who never trusted the British agents, and who insisted on getting paid for any services they gave them, never believed that they could be double-crossed. Yet after a network of unions had been re-established in Spain during the war - and a Resistance built up without parallel in modern history, inside Spain - all the committees were destroyed. None of the militants ever saw cause and effect. Soon after the war, for instance, a meeting was called by the British Embassy for militants of the CNT to discuss the ANFD (Alliance of Democratic Forces) and the possibility of co-operation with the (pro-British) monarchists. CNT delegate Cipriano Mera reported that he could not see the point of it. A few weeks later the entire CNT committee was arrested. Cause and effect have not been seen to this day. How could it have been the British Embassy that was the traitor? Britain was "democratic", Franco was "fascist".

One could go on at great length, but it can be seen how the "anti-fascist" period, coming when the union phase had finished, helped to establish a movement in exile, in which no popular representation existed or was required, and acted as a brake on Resistance. After the war, the exiles began to fit into life abroad. What took over their organisation was not a bureaucracy so much as domination by the "names". There was no longer local autonomy in which all met as equals. For a committee in Toulouse, one was asked to pick "names". The "great names" came to the fore. But what were these "great names"? They were not the names of the militants of pre-war days. They were those who came to the fore during the era of government collaboration. Among them was a division on many subjects. Some thought they should enter political collaboration with the Republican Government (pointless now that it was defeated, but it still had money stacked away in Mexico). Others wanted a return to independence - but they could not return to being a union. Only the workers inside Spain could do that.

The majority of exiles never want to compromise their position. It is understandable, but it is fatal for the struggle in the interior. In fact an exile movement is basically in a farcical position, for it is giving up the fact of struggle in the country where it exists and trying to carry one on in a country where it

does not exist. It thus surrenders its usefulness as a force in the labour movement in the country where it resides; while at the same time holding back the struggle in the country from which it originates - since the considerations that hold one back from action in a more open society are not necessarily valid in the dictatorship. Time and again, therefore, the Organisation found itself in conflict with the Resistance in Spain, being built up by groups such as those of Sabater, Facerias and others.

The Resistance - because of its daring attacks upon the regime - was able to build up the labour movement time and again. It was destroyed many times; and has been re-built. It has expected help from the exile Organisation and received nothing. Worse, it has been held back. For this reason one finds today the whole of the pretended "official" libertarian movement in utter disarray - the Montseny-Iglesias faction expelling all and sundry - striking out in the last gasps of dissolution... above all, denouncing the real libertarian movement inside Spain because it dares to use the name of the CNT! (It is for this reason that organisations like the Federación Obrera Iberica - to save the recriminations about "forging the seals" of the Organisation which are held as by apostolic succession in Toulouse - have simply changed their name, with the same aims as the CNT of old.)

The Spanish Libertarian Movement, so-called (MLE) is not a union movement, nor an anarchist movement. It is anti-fascist in ideology, but basically it looks to a "solution of the Spanish problem" rather than supporting the Resistance in any way. Time and again the expected political solutions have failed - or rather, have succeeded in the way their authors intended them, leaving the MLE pathetically declaring that the British, French or American Governments have let them down. Even now, many cannot understand how it came about that Britain did not send an Army in to liberate Spain; why the Government did not even want to do so - and indeed, that elements in the British Government may have considered Spain already liberated - by Franco! These are the people who denounce the Resistance as "impractical", "utopian" - above all, "violent"! Many will explain that "violence" is wrong. That is to say, it was

permissible in the Civil War, when it was legal; and during the World War when, if not legal, in Spanish eyes, it was granted the equivalent status by virtue of the fact that resistance was "legally" recognised in France, but it became "un-libertarian" even "un-Spanish" with the end of the World War!

This colours the attitude towards Resistance in Spain, and nothing marks a greater dividing line. The Resistance was carefully nourished by the Sabater brothers - of whom so little is known* - the various bands of the Resistance such as the Tallion, Los Manos etc., by Facerias and others. It had perforce to return to the tradition of guerrilla warfare and activism.

Despite the "official" propaganda in which the Libertarian Movement in Exile constantly invokes the name of the CNT, it is not the same thing at all. The traditions of the CNT are reaffirmed by the Resistance within Spain, which is back in the period of regional committees and local resistance, and is still unable to reconstitute itself on a nation-wide scale - which indeed it may not consider essential.

The period predicted by Marx during which Spanish labour would have to be left to "Bakunin" is, of course, over. The Communists, Maoists and Nationalists of various brands have grown considerably - though socialism and the UGT are dead. Thanks to the folly of "Toulouse" the name of the CNT has been eclipsed by schism. But we note one thing: whenever the struggle in Spain becomes acute, the workers turn to anarchism.

Albert Meltzer



*A book on Sabater by Antonio Tellez, trans. Stuart Christie, is coming out next Spring - published by Davis-Poynter.

THE RULE BOOK OF THE CONFEDERACION DEL TRABAJO (CNT)

Spanish anarcho-syndicalist trades union
(National Confederation of Labour)

The constitution as printed in the membership card is set out in full here.

The emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves.

Anarcho-syndicalism and anarchism recognise the validity of majority decisions.

The militant has a right to his own point of view and to defend it, but he is obliged to comply with majority decisions, even when they are against his own feeling.

A membership card, without the corresponding confederal seal, is no longer valid. The confederal seal is the only means of income that the Regional and National Committees have. Not to keep it paid is to sabotage the work that has been recommended to those committees, for they are unable to carry out decisions without the economic means to do so.

We recognise the sovereignty of the individual, but we accept and agree to carry out the collective mandate taken by majority decision. Without this there is no organisation.

We must never lack the mental clarity to see danger and to act with rapidity. To lose time in talking at meetings by holding philosophic discussions is anti-revolutionary. The adversary does not discuss, he acts.

The most fundamental principle of federal-

ism is the right of the members to examine the role of the militants and to have control of their delegates, no matter what the circumstances or what position they have given them.

We must allow a margin of confidence to our delegates. But we must also retain the right to replace them if necessary.

To criticise in public those comrades given places of confidence in our organisation is to devalue the organisation. No conscientious comrade criticises the committees in public, because this only favours the adversary.

The choice of delegates is discussed internally and it is essential that this takes place. But one should remain silent in public. Think as you wish, but as a worker you need the Syndicate, because it is there to protect your interests.

Comrade: This membership card is the safeguard of your working life. It has no price, but you will prize it above everything. And you will be ready to defend the card of the CNT wherever you see it attacked. UNITY IS STRENGTH.

Worker: The syndicate is your means of solidarity. Only in it are you able to form a united proletarian movement that will go forward to emancipation.

A BAS LES CHEFS!

JOSEPH DÉJACQUE



Aspects Of Anarchy

DÉJACQUE

and

COEURDEROY

Ernest Coeurderoy and Joseph Déjacque are two of the most interesting figures in the development of anarchist ideas following the 1848 revolution in France. They are important because they took anarchism forward from the non-revolutionary libertarianism of Proudhon and the non-libertarian revolutionism of the socialist leaders, and pointed the way towards the formulation of a consistent anarchist doctrine and the formation of a genuine anarchist movement. They both died before this could happen and were forgotten for many years, but they were discovered at the end of the nineteenth century and they have recently been rediscovered.

They both belonged to the petite-bourgeoisie, which has provided most

anarchist thinkers. Coeurderoy was born in 1825, the son of a republican doctor in Burgundy, and he became both a doctor and a republican himself, practising medicine and participating in political agitation in Paris just before 1848. Déjacque was born in 1822, the son of a poor widow in Paris, and became a wall-paper seller, a sailor, a shop-clerk, and finally a house-painter and paper-hanger, also being active in the Paris labour movement just before 1848. Thus they represented respectively the professional and artisanal strands in anarchist history, and both began their political careers in a revolutionary situation.

They both took part in the successful February revolution in Paris, when the monarchy was replaced by a bourgeois republic, and also in the unsuccessful June rising against the Provisional Government, when the socialist workers tried to replace the bourgeois regime and were savagely repressed. Coeurderoy escaped arrest for a time, but had to go into hiding in June 1849 and soon left France. Déjacque was arrested in June 1848 and imprisoned for several months, arrested again in June 1849, and tried in 1851 for publishing subversive poems; he left France just before Louis Napoléon's coup d'état of December 1851 ended the revolutionary period with a Bonapartist dictatorship.

Coeurderoy took refuge in Switzerland from 1849 to 1851, then in Belgium, England, Spain, and Italy (where he married), then in unknown places after 1855, during which time he seems to have become mentally ill, and then again in Switzerland, where he is believed to have committed suicide in 1862. Déjacque took refuge in Belgium, then in England from 1851 to 1852, in Jersey from 1852 to 1854, and in the United States from 1854 to 1861, when he returned to England and then to France, where he is believed to have died in poverty in 1864.

Coeurderoy lived by practising medicine (in 1851 he published an article on "People's Medicine"), and his political activity consisted mainly of keeping in touch with other revolutionary exiles and writing against the prevailing republican opinions. He helped to produce a pamphlet called The Barrier of the Combat (1852), and also wrote some letters which were printed (including one of 1854 to Herzen), many articles, and two books, On Revolution

in Man and Society (1852) and Hurrah!!! or Revolution by Cossacks (1854); a third book, On Harmony in Man and Society, was announced but has disappeared without trace. His chief work was a long autobiography, Days of Exile, of which two volumes appeared in 1854-55; a third volume was announced but has also disappeared without trace. He seems to have published nothing after 1855.

COEURDEROY on revolution

"Revolutionary anarchists, let us say it loudly: we have no hope except in the human deluge; we have no future except in chaos; we have no chance except in a general war which, mixing all races and smashing all established relationships, will remove from the hands of the ruling classes the instruments of oppression with which they violate the liberties won at the price of our blood. Let us introduce the revolution into deeds, let us transfuse it into institutions; let it be inoculated by the blade of the sword into the social organisms, so that they are no longer bewitched by it! Let the human sea rise and overflow! When all the disinherited are seized by famine, property will no longer be holy; in the armed struggle, iron will sound louder than gold; when everyone fights in his own cause, no one will need to be represented; in the midst of the confusion of tongues, the lawyers, journalists, and opinion-makers will not be heard. With its fingers of steel the revolution breaks all Gordian knots; it has no understanding with Privilege, no pity for hypocrisy, no fear of battle, no check in its passions, no coolness for its lovers, no quarter for its enemies. So let's get on with it and sing its praises!"

Hurrah!!! or Revolution
by Cossacks (1854)

Déjacque lived very poorly and took a more active part in revolutionary politics. He made dramatic interventions at the funerals of two republican exiles - first in London in 1852 and then in Jersey in 1853 - taking the opportunity to accuse the socialist and republican leaders of betraying the revolution, and he signed the programme of the socialist International Association in 1855 while he was in the United States. Indeed it was there that he did his most important work - being involved in the disputes among the French republican groups, publishing several pamphlets, especially The Revolutionary Question (1854),

many articles, and an enlarged collection of his poems, but above all producing the first anarchist-communist paper in America, Le Libertaire, of which 27 issues appeared from June 1858 to February 1861 and in which Déjacque printed his chief work, The Humanisphere. He seems to have published nothing after 1861.

Both Coeurderoy and Déjacque began with a fierce critique of the socialist leaders who had betrayed the 1848 revolution - The Barrier of the Combat and The Revolutionary Question are reminiscent of post-revolutionary anarchist polemics over a period of more than a century, from the Paris Commune of 1871 to the Paris "events" of 1968, taking in Russia and Spain on the way. But from that point they diverge.

Coeurderoy was an emotional and frequently a hysterical writer, and all his works are marked by the use of intense rhetoric and impassioned violence. He quickly despaired of the social movement in France and in all other so-called civilised countries, and instead he looked forward to the invasion of barbarians from the East - especially the "Cossacks" from Russia - and the destruction of all established institutions in a storm of fire and death. Here may be seen an attitude which closely resembled that of the Russian Slavophiles and of their successor in the anarchist movement, Bakunin, and which reappears in libertarian thought several times afterwards - in the early Kropotkin, in many Spanish figures (especially Durruti), and in the contemporary Situationists.

DEJACQUE on revolution

"Principles:

Liberty, equality, fraternity.

Consequences:

Abolition of government in all its forms, monarchical or republican, supremacy of an individual or of majorities;

But anarchy, individual sovereignty, complete, unlimited, absolute freedom to do everything, everything that is in the nature of a human being.

Abolition of religion, Catholic, Protestant, Hebrew or anything else. Abolition of clergy

and of church, of priest, vicar or pope, minister or rabbi, of divinity, idol in one or three persons, universal autocracy or oligarchy;

But man, at once creature and creator, having only nature for god, science for religion, humanity for church.

Abolition of personal property, property in land, building, factory, shop, property in every instrument of labour, production or consumption;

But collective property, one and indivisible, possession in common.

Abolition of the family, based on marriage, on paternal or marital authority, on heredity;

But the great human family, one and indivisible, like property.

Liberation of woman, emancipation of the child.

Finally, abolition of authority, of privilege, of antagonism;

But liberty, equality, fraternity embodied in humanity;

But all the consequences of this triple formula brought from theoretical abstraction into practical reality, into positivism.

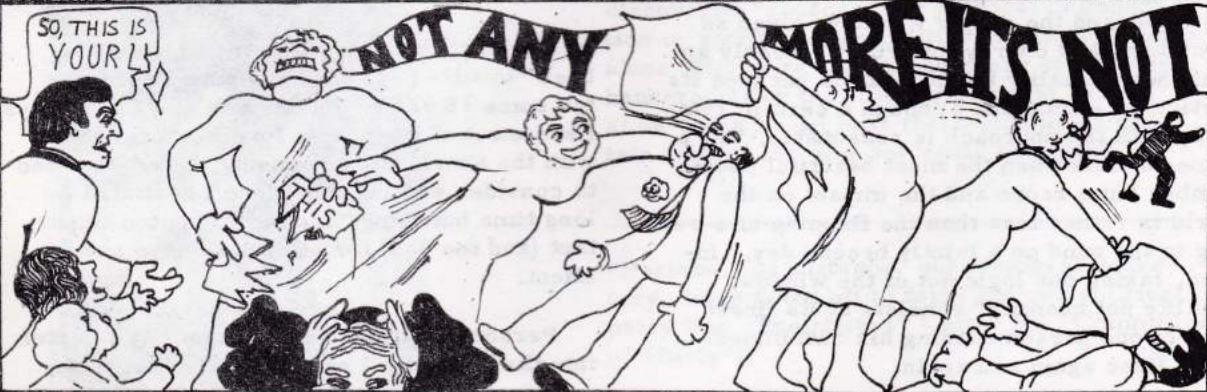
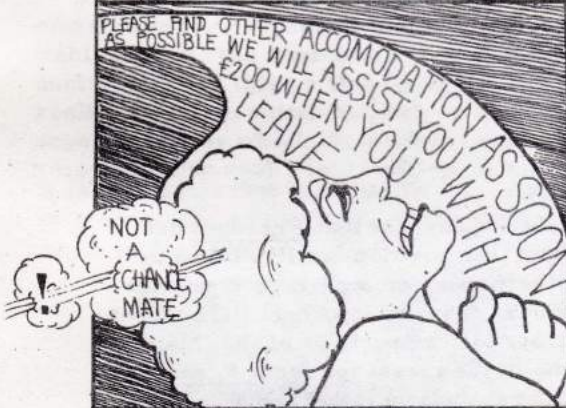
That is to say, Harmony, that oasis of our dreams, ceasing to fly like a mirage before the caravan of the generations and offering to each and to all, under its fraternal shade and in universal unity, the sources of happiness, the fruits of liberty: a life of delight, at last, after an agony of more than eighteen centuries in the barren desert of civilisation!"

The Revolutionary Question (1854)

Déjacque was equally inclined to praise of violence, but he was more interested in the work of construction following the necessary destruction. He called for small groups to smash present society by secret conspiratorial violence, but he also looked forward to the future society that would emerge. The Humanisphere, an "Anarchist Utopia" which wasn't published in book form until 1899 (and then was purged of its more ferocious passages), looked a thousand years into the future and combined the best ideas of Fourier and of Proudhon. Here may be seen an attitude which also reappears in libertarian thought several times afterwards - in the later Kropotkin, in William Morris, in the revolutionary syndicalists, and in the contemporary Underground.

Nicolas Walter





WHAT'S WRONG WITH

anarchist weekly
Freedom

WHEN I WAS at school, back in days almost lost in the mists of time - somewhere in the late 1950s - I noticed an advert in the New Statesman for Freedom - the anarchist weekly. It was concerned with a campaign to save the Third programme and it makes me smile to remember this because it sums up in a way the paper and the people who have given so much time and energy towards its weekly appearance. Quality not quantity is perhaps its particular stance and although a certain sympathy with the approach is reasonable, there comes a time when the most beautiful people number but a score and the impact on the world is rather less than the flapping of a wet flag in the wind on a faintly breezy day. Indeed, taking our logic out of the window, "quality not quantity" consists at its finest hour of one person reading his own impeccable lines again and again.

One would not suggest that Freedom has quite reached that position but I've taken to mistaking the writing on a postage stamp for the weekly dose from Whitechapel High Street. Symbolic that, for the portrait of the Queen reminds one of the messages from Freedom's present editors: "My husband and I..."

Oh dear! What has become of us? I've been "involved" as they say with Freedom for some 15 years, on and off, and I've always liked most of the people I've met associated with the anarchist movement. When I started to consider writing this piece I hesitated a long time but things are becoming too important (and too bad) for silence to have any effect.

Personal reminiscence is one way to enter into the subject. I remember Lilian Wolfe,

for instance, who corresponded with me in Africa and worked for many years at Freedom Press, whether at Red Lion Street, Maxwell Street or in Whitechapel - the tangible historical connection with the Freedom of her companion Tom Keele who criticised Kropotkin in Freedom over his attitude to the First World War. A gentler person than Lilian would be hard to imagine; I can see her as being in J.B. Priestley's mind (along with Herbert Read) when he voiced his views on a BBC radio programme called "The Gentle Anarchists" years ago. It was Lilian who first made me think about vegetarianism and I can recall her laugh when I admitted my difficulty was that I like meat. The women's lib paper Shrew devoted two pages recently to Lilian Wolfe and one should know that she still works for the War Resisters International at 90 odd and that Jean and Tony Smythe accommodate her in their house. I mention this because my quarrel with pacifists is ideological, not personal. Their example is not lightly to be dismissed and we need them to remind us of their position when others pull in opposite directions.

From there we step onto more contentious paths: to those who have shaped Freedom since the war. Four editors of Freedom, after the split in the libertarian movement at the end of the war, were arrested and tried for offences associated with suggesting soldiers should not give up their arms on being demobbed from the services. Some charitable people suggest that the split in the movement caused a requirement for a demonstration of the Freedom group's convictions. This does not bear up to examination: the plain truth seems to be that personal squabbles had occurred after actions which might have led to arrest had been taken many times during the war. Whatever the case Vernon Richards, John Hewetson, Philip Sansom and Marie Louise Berneri were tried for causing disaffection among members of HM Forces under Defence Regulation 39A. The three men received prison sentences of nine months but on the technicality that Marie Louise was Richards' wife and thus could not conspire with her husband, she was acquitted.

Herbert Read in a courageous speech after the conviction of the three men deliberately broke Regulation 39A again when he declared publicly: "Let the nation remain a people in arms - stick to your arms, we say to the

people, rather than deliver them up to any gang which takes it upon itself to speak in the name of a new State." Read broke the law with "great pleasure... only to show that we are by no means intimidated by what has happened ... We are not moved one inch from our course". Justice Birkett at the trial went so far as to describe the anarchists as of the highest character and said he was quite prepared to believe they were actuated by the highest motives. (See "Freedom: Is it a Crime?", two speeches by Herbert Read.)

Marie Louise Berneri and George Woodcock continued to edit Freedom until the others were released. Woodcock has written of this period in his recent biography of Read The Stream and the Source, for it was Read, George Orwell and Woodcock who were prominent in the Freedom Defence Committee that not only defended the Freedom editors but became a body which provoked the National Council for Civil Liberties to some extent.

I've never met John Hewetson and the tragic death of Marie Louise occurred before my time, although her spirit lives on in her memorable book Journey Through Utopia, but Philip Sansom and Vero Richards I have met and their devotion to anarchism could not be questioned. Philip Sansom is a great orator as anyone who has heard him, on form, in Hyde Park knows - his position is closer to syndicalism than the others intimately connected with Freedom Press; indeed he worked on a paper called The Syndicalist with Albert Meltzer for a while and I remember his appearance with the two chief opponents of the Freedom Group - Tom Brown and Ken Hawkes - at one of those July memorials to the Spanish revolution arranged by the Syndicalist Workers Federation.

To those who were not part of the split of the Anarchist Federation of Britain the episode is a mystery. Suffice to say I don't know for sure really what happened or why, but I'm under the impression it had a fair amount to do with a personality conflict between Richards and Brown. As with his companion Marie Louise, Vero's father originally came from Italy and was also the child of a militant anarchist (his father was a close comrade of Malatesta). Marie Louise's father Camillo Berneri was assassinated by Communists in Spain during the civil war in 1937 and Vero

with Marie Louise came to Britain to inspire the rather redundant anarchist movement and set up Spain and the World. This is important because Freedom claims a continuous publication from 1886 when the paper was founded by Charlotte Wilson and Kropotkin - in fact between the 1920s and 1936 there was little anarchist propagandist activity and it is reasonable to insist that the publication of Spain and the World was a fresh impact on the anarchist scene. Yet it was a significant impact as was the influence of the war paper of the group entitled War Commentary which they edited with Tom Brown and Albert Meltzer. Figures like Herbert Read, George Orwell, Alex Comfort and George Woodcock became part of the libertarian milieu and the young Jomo Kenyatta was persuaded to contribute to the anarchist press. Working class syndicalists developed vital industrial contacts and the Anarchist Federation of Britain was undoubtedly on the social and political map at the end of the war. The split, however, with its violence and bitterness (commented on by Ethel Mannin fictionally [?] in Comrade O Comrade) created a situation which has ramifications even today. Ken Hawkes and Tom Brown, who set up the Syndicalist Workers Federation and published Direct Action, later World Labour News and Direct Action once more, were on good terms with some groups of Spanish refugees - thought by some to be the Spanish refugees who had "compromised" - and whenever I visited their office I can vouch for a fraternity in the operation of their paper which many have felt to be lacking with Freedom. I remember Wynford Hicks telling me he'd been asked to write the headline for the paper the first time they had ever met him and I was part of editorial decisions at any time I bothered to go to their small office. Thinking back it is interesting to note that Tony Smythe, Wynford Hicks, Bill Christopher, Nicolas Walter and I all contributed articles to the SWF publications with Tom Brown's fascinating pages from working class history. We have this link with the SWF along with Colin Wilson who prior to writing The Outsider was often falling off the SWF platform in Hyde Park.

Vernon Richards and Tom Brown were never the best of friends. In a cloak of supposed innocence I once suggested to Richards that Tom Brown would give a useful working class angle if he could be persuaded to write for Freedom. The reaction was unfavourable

and I recall being reminded of things that happened when I "was in short pants" with yet another tale to add to the list of "what happened at the time of the split". Those who have worked with Vero have a great respect for him and there is no doubt that he has spent a lot of time working for the journal - his two books Lessons of the Spanish Revolution (praised by Chomsky) and Malatesta - His Life and Ideas (praised by The Times!) are outstanding contributions to the anarchist movement on an international scale and his weekly editorials in the sixties in Freedom (usefully available in Freedom selections) were as vigorous and engaging as it is possible to be. Before we get to disagreements it is as well to make it clear that I think he's a great man and I'm aware that I'm not alone with this opinion.

The other figures attached to Freedom I've known are Colin Ward, Jack Robinson, Tony Gibson and Frances Sokolov. I've met Rita Milton, John Rety and others but I'd say the only former editor of Freedom I've known well is Jack Stevenson. Colin Ward's contribution in editing Anarchy for ten years looks more and more formidable every time I refer back to past issues of the monthly. It was during its hey-day that Anarchy began to achieve the influence of the earlier anarchist publications of the 1940s. Tony Gibson, who has not as yet produced anything on anarchism which demonstrates his real ability, is the orthodox psychologist to put against the Reichian influence within anarchist circles (or should I say boxes?). I can recall being touched and surprised when Tony gleefully shook my hand after a meeting at which Jack Robinson, Rita Milton, Donald Room, Philip Sansom and I had spoken. Shaking my hand he just said "Thank you"; as my contribution had, I faintly recollect, been pretty slight and very minor in such company, I was a bit non-plussed.

Arthur Uloth and Peter Turner are, of course, two other stalwarts and I suppose Nicolas Walter's part of the same crowd. Peter Turner's the syndicalist fifth columnist in Freedom's midst but the cynics think he's well under control, Arthur's the wide-ranging liberal and more of Nick Walter later.

So what's wrong? You may well ask. Perhaps it's concentrated in this: - During the time I've written for Freedom, at times from

Rhodesia when I did so at some personal risk, also as Kali and other pseudonyms whilst a community relations officer prejudicing my employment, always as a person prepared to criticise or praise fellow anarchists and willing to question anarchic conventional wisdom, over this period now amounting to fifteen years I've never been asked if I'd like to help edit the paper. Now, I would have refused such an offer in any case and before refusing would have asked a lot of pertinent questions; if I'd been an editor I'd have dissented from allowing Jack Robinson's views on the Angry Brigade to be printed when they were and would have insisted on cutting some of Nick Walter's writing on the same matter. Indeed I have been shocked by reading a letter published in the American anarchist paper Match! from Freedom's editors which in one sentence claims it does not print abusive letters and in another with no evidence, and groundlessly, abuses those in Britain who are supposedly getting young people sent to jail. Incidentally Freedom's editors claim they have received little criticism for their appalling record on the Angry Brigade whilst in Freedom (9. 12, 72) they write of "many comrades" annoyed by the so-called critical support shown by Freedom for the Stoke Newington Eight. As regards abuse in Freedom M.C. was able to abuse this writer in its columns recently without hindrance - although I would not personally object to being abused since it tends to discredit the other party.

During the time I've been associated with Freedom I've seen editors come and go - one or two recently very rapidly whose contribution to the paper is perhaps best described as brief. When it is realised that such editors

can turn down articles from regular contributors to Freedom I think it would be unimaginative to ignore the possibility of resentment.

Now, to avoid misunderstanding let me be quite clear: (a) I do not want to be an editor of Freedom and am not writing this because of some personal grudge. (b) My contribution is by no means immense and consists almost entirely of writing articles; I've seldom been to meetings or conferences. What I do maintain is that a paper like Freedom should have at least enquired, at some stage, about how I'd feel about being an editor simply from the point of view of the paper's development.

This point I am making is important because it does not just apply to me but to quite a number of other comrades and it lends credence to the view that Freedom is run by an elite of "special people" who are rather above the average throng of rank and file anarchists.

This I deplore, since my place is always with the rank and file and I dislike all those who set themselves up as being superior. I recall a disagreement with Vero Richards about Freedom being called the anarchist weekly, since there are other weeklies even if not in the English language.

Recently Freedom has completely alienated a fair section of active anarchists in Britain, mostly young, mostly working class, who have established a number of periodicals: Black Flag, Libertarian Struggle, Black and Red Outlook, Inside Story, Anarchy - all libertarian, none friendly to Freedom and it is most encouraging to have anarchist views available from a number of sources. Yet these events have largely occurred as a reaction from Freedom because the paper was failing the anarchist movement.

In the last few months Freedom has taken to publishing letters which other papers have chosen not to print - one which Time Out in fact used and a telephone call would have established that they were going to do so. It is worth mentioning because if anyone collected together the letters not published by Freedom it would take several volumes to facilitate publication. It is not my practice to keep copies of letters very often but I can remember three particular times when Freedom has not published letters of mine which has caused



some consternation on my part. Both Jack Robinson's articles on the Angry Brigade, which between them were possibly the most disgraceful writings ever attributed to an anarchist in Britain, received replies from my pen. Neither appeared, but I was allowed to criticise Nick Walter whose views the editors of Freedom share as they publicly state in their letter to Match!. Nick's articles never sank to Robinson's level but whilst Nick has disclaimed any association with Robinson's pieces he has failed to do more. The Guardian published a vehement attack on an editorial in their paper about the Angry Brigade by Nick - "Once again the Guardian has disgraced itself..." - strong words which the Guardian fairly published; milder criticism of Freedom editorials has bitten the dust many times.

The third example of Freedom's non-publication consists of a reply to N.W.'s claim that he had criticised the Angry Brigade but had never attacked those standing trial as the Stoke Newington Eight. Nick, who was once among those not wholly dissociated from the Angry Young Men and whose powers of memory after imbibing alcohol leave something to be desired, is a very confused individual. Trialists at the Stoke Newington trial expressed sympathy with the AB, in the public mind (rightly or wrongly) they were seen as the Angry Brigade and the position of N.W. and Freedom subverted the spirit of those who were supporting people faced with 15 or 20 years in prison if convicted. Whilst this sniping was going on Freedom claimed to be assisting the Stoke Newington Defence Committee. In order that in the future and internationally today anarchists shall know that Freedom has been discredited

within the anarchist movement we must write these words and publish them.

I have said little of Jack Robinson and his companion Mary Canipa but I've seen Jack carting Freedom around London for many a year and I know that to him anarchism is a vision and his entire life. But his tolerance of those he considers "the enemies of anarchism" is not great - I suppose if such people were enemies this would not be surprising; what is surprising rather is the use of such a description.

So, is Freedom run by an elite who are out of touch and steadily grinding to a halt? Is the initiative of anarchism in Britain passing away from Freedom to a number of other sources? I'd say "yes" to both those questions. In the editorial celebration of the so-called 70 years of Freedom Press in 1956 the editorial in rebutting George Woodcock's defeatism quotes a paragraph from Herbert Read's Anarchy and Order in which Read refers to his early essays: "I have not attempted to give an air of caution to the impetuous voice of youth. Indeed, I now envy those generous occasions". The editorial asks "Is the judgement of middle age all that much more reliable and objective than the 'apocalyptic enthusiasm' of one's youth?"

I have one final question. Should the energies and finances of anarchists be now devoted to building the influence of the libertarian journals other than Freedom? I hope I've shown that it is not bitterness, personal grudge or dislike that leads me to answer in the affirmative, but an awareness of the requirements of the future.

Jerry Westall



The following letter from the editors of the Anarchist weekly newspaper FREEDOM, is a reply which had been solicited by THE MATCH concerning certain allegations being made by Marcus Graham. Specifically those allegations were:

- (1) That Freedom Press had attacked the defendants just as the latter were about to go to trial,
- (2) That the editors of FREEDOM supported such an attack.
- (3) That FREEDOM had suppressed all

protests over their "attack",

(4) That the British authorities prosecuting the case were able to "use" the FREEDOM article "against" the accused, in some inexplicable way,

(5) That because the defendants were on trial, this was ipso facto cause to believe that they actually had carried out the bombings with which they were accused, and therefore, cause to proclaim them "heroes".

The statement by the FREEDOM editors corroborates entirely our belief that the attack on FREEDOM by Marcus Graham was based upon fanciful or faulty appraisal of the facts, and that therefore THE MATCH was in every way justified in declining to print the unsubstantiated and baseless attack.

FREEDOM PRESS' STATEMENT

Editor:

In view of the attacks upon us that are being made in the United States the editors of FREEDOM wish to make it clear that:

1) In the April 22nd issue, in the article on the Angry Brigade by Nicolas Walter, to which exception has been taken, the point was made by the writer, with which the editors concur, that the campaign of bombing did harm rather than good.

"It can surely be argued," wrote N. W., "that the Angry Brigade, far from representing (let alone somehow being) the movement, has actually alienated itself from the movement by its methods, and has indeed injured the movement by opening it up to internal distrust and division and to external pressure and persecution."

There is no suggestion that the Stoke Newington Eight were members of the Angry Brigade however.

2) When a writer in FREEDOM puts his name, pseudonym, or initials at the bottom of his article it means he takes responsibility for it. Only unsigned articles represent the views of the editors as a group, and such articles are rare. Nevertheless the editors do, in this case, share the views of N. W.

3) We have not had "numerous" letters of protest as a result of the 22nd of April article.

We do make a point of printing critical letters, unless they are repetitive (and liable to bore our readers) or personally abusive. If this is doubted let the doubter go through the back numbers of our paper, and he will see quite a number of such letters. But with regard to N. W.'s article we received few protests and can only conclude that most readers agreed with N. W., or did not feel strongly enough about it to write in.

4) So far as we know the government prosecution made no use of the 22nd of April article, nor do we see how they could.

5) The defendants were brave. They did not claim to be heroes. They claimed that they were innocent. We believe they were arrested because of their associations, Stuart Christie because of his Spanish exploit many years ago, not because of anything they did. The condemnation of four and the acquittal of four was purely arbitrary. The idea was to frighten people away from revolutionary ideas.

One cannot claim they were heroes because they sought to resist the State with violence, if in fact they did nothing of the kind.

We believe that today there is a romantic cult of violence developing on the Left, as well as on the Right. We fear lest it claim more victims. But perhaps it is heroes and martyrs that the romantics want. If so we feel that it is impossible to condemn too strongly the wicked irresponsibility of these people who are encouraging this cult (often they are quite old, interestingly enough), and getting young people sent to jail.

THE FREEDOM EDITORS

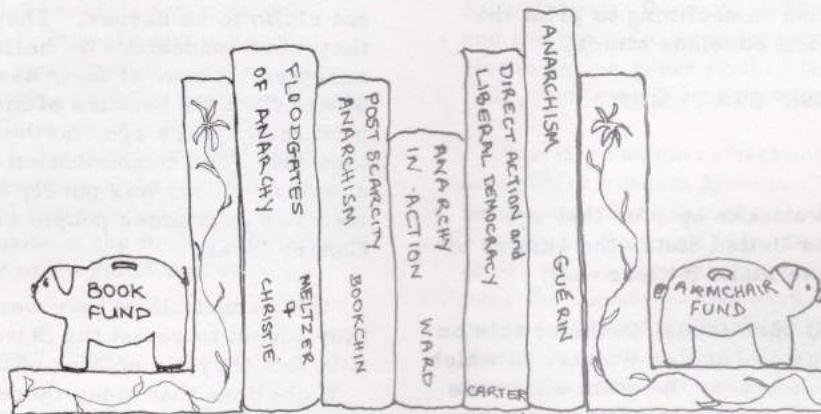
Jack Robinson Peter Turner John Brent

The above letter from the editors of Freedom was printed by The Match, an anarchist paper in the States. Previous to printing this letter The Match had printed a full page editorial in reply to Marcus Graham's letter.

Along with everybody else in the movement, I don't know what Marcus Graham wrote in his letter, because the Match editorial and Freedom's letter are replies to a letter WHICH THEY HAVE NEVER PUBLISHED. I suppose it is easier to attack ideas which you do not allow anybody to hear first hand.

Five of the most relevant writings to what might be termed Post-68 Anarchism are reviewed below. There have been other books which are not mentioned but those below cover between them areas of anarchist thought which are grappling with anarchism here and now, rather than with Spain thirty years ago or Russia sixty years ago (although this is not to de-cry such subjects). The contention of anarchists is that we not only make a meaningful impact on the world but that our analysis is the only one to get to those core subjects of libertarian thought: the State and

individual freedom, coupled with the organisation of collective life which eschews authoritarian methods of behaviour. April Carter's pacifism, Colin Ward's wide ranging libertarianism, Guérin's involvement with organisational questions, Bookchin's seminal and daring revolutionary ecology, Meltzer and Christie's gut anarchism - they all have their contribution to make. Bookchin's Post Scarcity Anarchism is probably the most brilliant among them but to obtain a flavour of Anarchy today one needs to read them all.



Anarchy in Action (Allen & Unwin £1.75) by Colin Ward

The editor of the "old Anarchy" for ten years, Colin Ward, has collected together a number of his articles along with some which he previously wrote for Freedom. It is a useful book which justifies the anarchist credo in terms of references to many sources, a good number non-anarchist, and which points to the desirability of organising society without authority.

A number of vital areas are covered and the sections on planning, housing, school and play are particularly good. However, there is a very bad omission in the lack of a discussion on violence/non-violence and the class struggle which is all the more striking for the obvious regard shown for presenting anarchism as a tenable philosophy for the present world. Albert Meltzer and Stuart Christie at least tackle these issues in their book Floodgates of Anarchy (Sphere 35p), which represents the guts of anarchism as Colin Ward represents the cerebral lobes. It would be

well worthwhile to use Anarchy in Action alongside Floodgates of Anarchy for they are the bedrock of much anarchist post-68 theory.

Colin Ward, perhaps lacking the erudition of Kropotkin, the fire of Bakunin or the incisive wisdom of Malatesta, does none the less provide a substantial source for the future development of modern anarchism. The tradition of British libertarian thought that has dwelt on the twin attributes of Herbert Read and Alex Comfort is given a jolt which brings our subject down to earth and gains an air of practical reality that is good to see. We should not underestimate the hard work and value of such an exercise.

Personally I don't think either Colin Ward's book or the Meltzer/Christie one are as outstanding as Read's Anarchy or Order essays or Comfort's Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State but they are important to British anarchism and deserve to be widely read.

Jerry Westall

Direct Action and Liberal Democracy
(Routledge & Kegan Paul £1.40) by April
Carter

April Carter, whose earlier book The Political Theory of Anarchism was a competent achievement, has not accomplished a similar target with this long diatribe on the argument for non-violent direct action. Like many pacifists she adopts a position on direct action which ensures the minimum of middle-class criticism. Although direct action "must be distinguished from constitutional and parliamentary styles of activity" and the major influence is deemed to be anarcho-syndicalism it has nothing to do with "armed insurrection" and sabotage is "a borderline case". April Carter is honest enough to admit "the reasons for adopting non-violence can stem from weakness and an accompanying prudence; from a desire to prove respectability and win liberal sympathy; from a concern to tone down the militance of direct action in order to placate public opinion". The feeling that Ms Carter looked into the mirror as she wrote those words is unmistakable as one picks a path between the Black Panthers, student activists and the Angry Brigade. The "AB in Britain, Baader-Meinhoff in Germany are more reminiscent of the anarchist 'propaganda by deed' than of a genuine guerrilla movement" and guerrilla warfare also is not the sort of direct action Ms Carter includes in her definition of the term.

Extraordinary as it may seem for someone who states that "the anarchist and syndicalist traditions are perhaps the earliest, but most continuously significant, contribution to the present theory of direct action" there is not one mention of anarcho-syndicalism in Spain and although condemnation abounds for Black Power tacticians there is no mention of resistance by direct action in Southern Africa. April Carter is content to comment that "terror" is "the psychological counterpart of violent action" - whatever that means and seems to advocate the unarmed slaughter at Sharpeville as it won so much sympathy for the African nationalist cause.

Jerry Westall

Anarchism (Monthly Review Press £1.10) by
Daniel Guérin, introduction by Noah Chomsky

This book is well worth reading, probably the best of the books titled Anarchy or Anarchism. As the author claims in the preface "the reader will be presented in turn with the main constructive themes of anarchism and not with personalities". In fact the book is really in two main parts, the first a study of the constructive themes, the theory and basis of anarchism. He quotes directly from Proudhon, Bakunin, Stirner, Malatesta, Voline and Santillan. The second the practice: the Russian Revolution 1917, Italy after 1918, the Spanish Revolution 1936.

The book starts with the statement that all anarchists are socialists but all socialists are not anarchists. Guérin himself obviously prefers the term libertarian socialist to anarchist as it is far more self-explanatory. He keeps the issues clear and unmuddled, by concentrating on the main themes and not getting sidetracked by the personalities thus the message comes across clearly. One is always aware the basic choice is Libertarian or Authoritarian. One the status quo, the other the alternative.

Anarchism makes many points that are important in today's struggle but above all the one that comes over clearer than the others is the importance of remembering the socialist part of anarchism. The necessity of being active within the class struggle, within the area now covered by the trade unions and the CP. In a very powerfully argued section of the book, Guérin points out that when first divorced from the working class, anarchism split into cliques and even accused Bakunin of having been "too coloured by Marxism". He shows clearly that when anarchism has been involved with the mass working class movements, its words and theory have been accepted and always led into a mass upsurge of revolutionary spirit. However today the fact is that all trade unions represent authoritarian organisation; the factory worker of today is faced by authoritarian organisation at every turn, the firm, the union, the CP etc. No alternative is in sight. The book is involved throughout with workers' control (management/councils).

There is no doubt that today workers' participation is a popular issue, the Labour

Party, the Liberal Party, etc. all give it lip service, but without a libertarian structure, the authoritarian will corrupt even workers' control until it is no more revolutionary than the annual wage demand and strike.

In case I have given a too one-sided look at Guérin's book, it is worth saying he has a constructive look at Stirner, putting him in context. Stirner does not go uncriticised for his excesses, but he shows Stirner to be the great thinker he undoubtedly was, and sums Stirner up by saying "his entire work was a search for a synthesis, or rather an 'equilibrium' between concern for the individual and the interests of society, between individual power and collective power".

His ending on workers' control in Algeria and Yugoslavia was I thought optimistic and unconvincing.

As an introduction to anarchism, there is in my opinion no better book; as a guide or a book to remind you of the basics it is well worth the effort of reading.

Floodgates of Anarchy (Sphere Books 35p), by Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer

There are a great many books on socialism and anarchism which are totally unreadable; many authors conceal their meaning as if they were writing in code to avoid persecution by the authorities, and maybe in a sense they are. When they write on marxism they claim to be giving a programme for the working class, written in language no worker could understand - and which he would reject if he did. In a sense such authors aim at a dictatorship by the educated and some claim that because the worker could not read or write in the language of the economists he cannot by himself obtain his liberation.

When it comes to anarchism the tendency is to write in grand oratorical phrases (certainly among Spanish writers) which can be understood well enough, but have the merit of meaning precisely nothing.

The "classical" anarchist writers wrote simply enough about the problems of socialism, but there is very little one can think of

written in the language of today about the problems of today to explain anarchism, its relevance and how it can be achieved.

This is done in Floodgates of Anarchy by Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer (also appearing in Spanish with the title Anarquismo y lucha de clases - Anarchism and Class Struggle) which not only lucidly explains anarchism, but casts a clear light on other political views.

Many of the problems of revolution can be evaded by speaking in the language of economics or of idealism. By writing in the language of everyday life, they have produced a book eminently readable and one that carries a punch. The chapter on "Violence and Terrorism" should sweep away a lot of cobwebs - how many times do we hear "violence" denounced when it is clear that what is denounced is only "the violence the State deplores" and not the violence the State practises!

In the book Christie and Meltzer are sometimes witty, sometimes bitter, sometimes sarcastic - but they are always honest with their readers, hiding nothing behind obscure language, but ruthlessly analysing class society and giving an uncompromising anarchist answer. I have worked with both comrades in the Anarchist Black Cross since my release from prison (and knew Christie even before then) and I may be prejudiced... but I also know the forceful impact this book has had on many who have read nothing else except marxist mystification or libertarian flights of oratory, and been repelled by the former and not well satisfied by the latter. They answer too what one should ask of a writer: that he does not shrink in life from the views he puts on paper.

Miguel Garcia

Post Scarcity Anarchism (Ramparts Press, San Francisco, 1971, paperback £1.50), by Murray Bookchin. Including "Listen Marxist!", "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought", and other essays on the abolition of power,

This book like most of the relevant literature on today's problems comes from America and

the "American Experience"; as Bookchin says "the centre of the social crisis in the late twentieth century is the United States ... Here, too, is the centre of the world counter-revolution - and the centre of the social revolution that can overthrow hierarchical society as a world-historical system."

The book gives a vision of future society based on criticisms of today's society and the demands of youth; it could be called Utopian. It adds much to revolutionary theory and praxis, but as Bookchin says "what justifies my Utopian emphasis is the nearly total

lack of material on the potentialities of our time." Though a lot of the essays have been available in England individually they combine together to fill, or start to fill, that gap. The book should not be read as a series of essays but as an entirety, for that is what it is. I have one criticism, and that is his faith in the affinity group as now practised.

The book is easily the most important, relevant and futuristic reviewed in this section, and the issues raised deserve far more discussion than they have had. R.B.

REVIEW



Magilligan watch tower manned by armed guards.

'Internment!' (Anvil Books 75p distributed by Rising Free, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1) by John McGuffin

This is both a personal experience of internment in Northern Ireland and a useful historical resume of the use of internment throughout Ireland over the last fifty years. We have also detailed records of escapes from prison by Irish nationalists and some extremely interesting and valuable source material which should be essential reference to any objective account of modern Irish history. Finally come a description of the Civil Resistance movement in Northern Ireland, accounts of the use of torture, devastating analysis of the pathetic Compton report on the torture allegations, a withering look at the media and last of all a half attempt to present the picture at the time of writing (March 1973).

Throughout the reading of the book one is obliged to keep a finger in the author's very extensive notes and it is a most irritating feature of the book as the notes are quite essential to the passage of the book. I'm

sure many notes could have been satisfactorily integrated into the book and footnotes might have then been added on the actual page to which they referred.

Some sections of the narrative are outstandingly good, notably the first chapter where John McGuffin describes his own arrest and detention without trial, and the description of the Civil Resistance movement, with the exposé of the Compton report being quite brilliant. Other chapters tend to bore simply by the relation of lists of names and escapes along the lines of any war book. (To those who argue that there is a war I'd agree but I don't think war is very interesting.)

That said, anarchists should read this book. It is the nearest we have to a libertarian Irish voice that knows what's going on and understands the anarchist analysis of society. John McGuffin used to write for Freedom before the utterly appalling H* took over so he has the appeal of being sensitive to issues we consider important. His own views and proposals often come across as near asides thus it has been wrongly stated that the book

lacks practical proposals since there is no manifesto or programme that clearly sets out a "line". But in the chapter on the rent and rate strikes the author mentions: "The resistance campaign did not end internment, but it helped to bring down Stormont. Even more important, with its resistance councils it gave many people, for the first time in their lives, the chance to see that they could 'seize the time'; that they could exercise a very real measure of control over their jobs, their streets, their areas". Again on the media McGuffin writes: "Unless we are satisfied with the system today, so accurately described by Marcuse as 'repressive tolerance', we must fight strenuously to wrest control of

the information centres from the hands of the personally-motivated few and place them firmly at the disposal of all".

It has been said that the British Army in Ulster is using the experience as a training ground for what Kitson predicts is to be a revolutionary situation in Britain in 1975-80. Whether this is fantasy or not John McGuffin's book enables us also to learn from the experiences of Northern Ireland in preparation for any future struggles.

Jerry Westall

Dear subscriber / mad anarch / armchair revolutionary / comrade / sister / brother / agent provocateur / roy creamer / innocent bystander ;
(please delete those not applicable)

ANARCHY MAGAZINE is published irregularly and a sub costs £2.25 or \$6 for 12 issues and £1.15 or \$3 for 6 issues.

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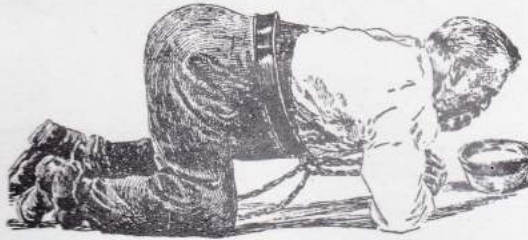
Back issues available are: No 3 (Acid), No 4 (Polish Food Riots) No 5 (Anarchism in Japan) No 6 (Ireland) No 7 (Workers' Councils) No 8. (Friends of Malatesta's Issue) No 9 (Urban Guerrilla Warfare) No 10 (Craiganon New City) No 11 (Prisons). 20 p. each. (or 50c).

We are a collective who publish Anarchy, and individually we are involved in many other activities; we do the typesetting, layout, platemaking and printing ourselves and we even lick the stamps for you.

During the last 12 months we have had a cartilage operation, jaundice, various viruses, 2 pregnancies and a couple of trials - to those who slam us for our infrequency we say 'Don't Moan - Organise'. we gladly accept help of any kind.

We have meetings most Thursday evenings. If any of you live near enough and can pass the perilous proficiency test that tries your skill, courage, and pure cunning, to see if you will make a worthy member of the Anarchy Collective - why don't you write and find out when the next meeting is..?

THE ANARCHY COLLECTIVE X



Attacking a person they have got isolated inside one of their prisons is another of their favourites in this line. They can move in fourteen or fifteen to one if the prisoner is over five foot.

Above is a picture of O'Donovan Rossa, whom they kept in chains so that he had to lap his bread and skilly off the floor in Chatham Gaol.

Receiving 'the treatment' at the moment are Dolores Price, Hugh Feeney, Marion Price and Gerard Kelly. These four have been on hunger strike since the 14th of November, demanding transfer to prisons in the North of Ireland, in order to serve their life sentences near their families in Belfast.

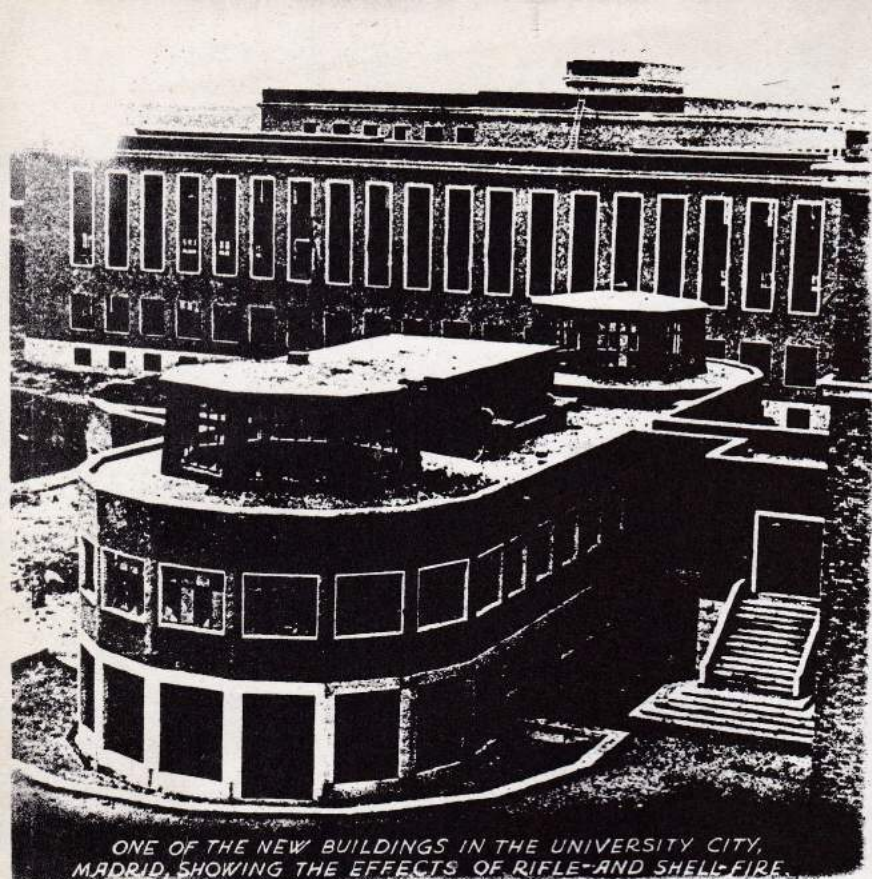
All four are seriously ill. Hugh Feeney has had a heart attack and his handwriting is so weak as to be almost unreadable. So not being in too good health Her Majesties Government squares up to the challenge and is force feeding them. This is not a manouver carried out in order to save their lives or improve their health, there are easier ways to do that.

Force feeding is a method of torture aimed at breaking you, if it does not kill you, as it killed Thomas Ashe in the Mater Hospital, Dublin in September 1917. (After which the British Government gave up force feeding hunger strikers.)

Force feeding is done by clamping your jaws open and pushing a thick rubber pipe down your throat, then pouring liquid down it directly into your stomach. Most people are then immediately sick, losing the food just poured in, and endangering your life as you have a tube down your throat and are being held down by warders.

A doctor oversees this whole procedure, a member of the same profession who does not mind experimenting on reasonably healthy adults, but much prefers to experiment on mentally ill children in institutions, old people in geriatric hospitals or people ill with chronic and fatal diseases.

TO KNOW THE ENEMY IS TO HATE THEM.



ONE OF THE NEW BUILDINGS IN THE UNIVERSITY CITY, MADRID, SHOWING THE EFFECTS OF RIFLE-AND SHELL-FIRE.



A GOVERNMENT MACHINE-GUNNER IN A PARTIALLY WRECKED ROOM IN ONE OF THE ACADEMIC FOUNDATIONS.



REFUGEES, WITH THEIR BELONGINGS, OUTSIDE A BUILDING WRECKED BY BOMBARDMENT.



A MACHINE-GUN CREW IN ACTION; WITH NUMEROUS AMMUNITION BOXES STACKED IN THE FOREGROUND.



QUARTERS IN A SCIENCE LABORATORY; WITH RATIONS AND PERSONAL EFFECTS ARRANGED AMONG THE APPARATUS.